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# AZZI-HAYASA ON THE BLACK SEA?
## ANOTHER PUZZLE OF ARMENIAN ORIGINS

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There are many puzzling issues surrounding the earliest origins of the Armenians. For obvious reasons, the land mentioned either as Azzi or as Hayasa (its resemblance to the Armenian self-designation *hay*) in the Hittite inscriptions of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B.C. has attracted scholarly interest since the 1920s. This essay focuses on the location of Azzi-Hayasa, while briefly touching on several related issues. The location has been as controversial as the ethnic affiliation of this land. In fact, both are interrelated. If Azzi-Hayasa was in the Armenian Highlands (Plateau), then it might have some closer relationship with Armenian history. But if Azzi-Hayasa was near the Black Sea or elsewhere, its importance in the Armenian context would be sharply diminished.

The noted French scholar Louis Delaporte, in his 1938 monograph *Les Hittites*, placed Azzi-Hayasa in the region of Trebizond, a view subsequently repeated by his colleague René Grousset.[1] However, in the first volume of his unfinished and posthumously-published *Histoire d'Arménie*, Nicolas Adontz, the highly-regarded Armenian historian, had already laid the foundations to situate Azzi-Hayasa to the south of the Black Sea region, on the Armenian Highland around Erzinka (Erzinjan) and Erzerum.[2]

Igor Diakonoff, in his noted monograph *The Pre-History of the Armenian People* (1968; English translation, 1984), which is the most thorough survey on this subject so far available in Western languages, echoed and refined Delaporte's view by placing Azzi-Hayasa along the ovalleys of the rivers Kharshit (Harshit; Harşit) and Chorokh up to the

[1] Cf. René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris: Payot, 1947), p. 42.

[2] Nicolas Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie* (Paris: Union Générale Arménienne de Bienfaisance, 1946), p. 28.

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Black Sea. Thus, the country would have fallen within the Pontus area and outside the Armenian Highland. Notwithstanding this conclusion, the Russian scholar conceded that at some point Azzi-Hayasa could have temporarily extended its power as far as the Upper Euphrates region.[3]

Interestingly, the first volume of *History of the Armenian People*, the flagship historical project of the Soviet Armenian Academy of Sciences (8 volumes, 1967-1982), contains a chapter on Azzi-Hayasa with sections written by Diakonoff and Suren Eremyan. Here, Eremyan pursued the path set by Adontz and reinstated Azzi-Hayasa as being part of the Armenian Highland.[4] Both positions have been maintained at different times by various scholars. Before dealing with this geographical puzzle, a brief look at the historical background would be helpful.

## *Hittites and Azzi-Hayasa*

By 2000 B.C., people of Indo-European stock had arrived in Asia Minor. Two centuries later, they had subjugated a good share of the territory without eliminating its inhabitants, the Hatti or pre-Hittites, who probably belonged to the Caucasian language family. The newcomers, the Nesites or Hittites, had been preceded by their relatives, the Luwians. Both the Hittite and Luwian languages, together with a few others of lesser importance, constitute the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family.

Around 1400 B.C., the Hittites started a second wave of territorial expansion with imperial ambitions and became the foremost power in Western Asia for more than a century. Their two main fronts of external conflict were Egypt and the Syro-Mesopotamian realm (Mitanni and Assyria). However, the eastern borders, on the margins of the Euphrates, were in a state of permanent instability. The mountaineer Kaskas and the leaders of Azzi-Hayasa and Ishuwa did not lose an opportunity to give trouble to their powerful neighbor. They managed to keep the Hittites at bay, sometimes even going on the offensive.

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[3] Igor Diakonoff, *The Pre-History of the Armenian People* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984), p. 46.

[4] Suren Eremyan and Igor Diakonoff, "Hayasa-Azzi tseghayin miutyune" [The Hayasa-Azzi Tribal Union], in *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian People], vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1971), pp. 192-93.

The confrontation was apparently not strictly a military affair. James Mellaart has advanced the possibility of the Hittites trying to keep control over an alternative source of tin.[5] Although Caucasian tin may or may not have been indigenous,[6] James G. Macqueen has suggested that Azzi-Hayasa possessed rich metallic ores in the northwestern and northern sections of the Armenian Highland, which would have piqued the interest of the empire.[7] The Hittite inscriptions are practically the only written source about Azzi-Hayasa, and their disappearance after the fall of the empire (thirteenth century B.C.) also meant the end of references to this name.

## *Azzi or Hayasa?*

Who were the people of Hayasa? It has been advanced since the 1920s that the origins of the Armenian self-designation *hay* should be searched in this neighborhood. The name appears in the Hittite annals as *Khayasa*, since the Hittite *h* is strongly aspirated, but the phonemes *h* and *kh* are interchangeable. The case is similar to some of the southern dialects of Armenian (Van and Khoi, among others), whose speakers employ a strongly aspirated *kh* as in *khay* (Armenian) or *khats* (bread).

The toponymic suffix *(a)sa*, of Hittite-Luwian origin and indicating "land," was widespread in Asia Minor (as in the names Harpasa, Mylasa, Datassa(s), and Wilusa. Therefore, *Hayasa* would have meant "land of the *hay*," a question-laden parallel to *Hayk,* the ancient self-designation of Armenia, or the modern *Hayastan,* where *k* is the Old Armenian geographical suffix and *stan* is, of course, the well-known Iranian suffix, both with the meaning of "land." This parallelism does not justify, however, the equating of Hayasa with Hayastan. The geographical borders of Azzi-Hayasa are extremely imprecise, since it is necessary to rely exclusively on the identification of the names mentioned in Hittite sources. But these sources only mention those places

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[5] James Mellaart, "Anatolian Trade with Europe and Anatolian Geography and Culture Provinces in the Late Bronze Age," *Anatolian Studies* 18 (1968): 200-01.

[6] See Charles Burney and David M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and Caucasus* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 68; Jak Yakar, "Regional and Local Schools of Metalwork in Early Bronze Age Anatolia, Part II," *Anatolian Studies* 35 (1985): 31.

[7] James G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), pp. 41-43, 54.

which were part of the contact zone between the Hittite Empire and Azzi-Hayasa. They do not give any information, for instance, about eastern or southern borders of the country.

Diakonoff maintained that the absence of the suffix *asa* in the Armenian Highland was an indication that Hayasa had no relation either with the great plateau or with the Armenians.[8] This view does not seem pertinent, first of all because a name quoted in a foreign source is not necessarily expected to retain its original form. On the other hand, it would be more accurate to say that *asa,* at least in the case of Hayasa, is not used as a toponymic suffix. The absence of *a(s)sa* in the Armenian realm indicates that Hayasa was not a geographic term like the Hittite-Luwian ones, dispersed in the central and western zones of Asia Minor.

How is this possible? In a more restricted sense, *asa* is a possessive suffix which compounds adjectives parallel to the genitive case (cf. Hittite *assa,* Hieroglyphic Luwian *asa,* Luwian *assi*, all of them derived from the Indo-European genitive case **osio*); for instance, Hittite *hantassa* (frontal) comes from *hant* (forefront).[9] Thus, in a literal sense, Hayasa meant "related to the hay," like *ian* (*Armen-ian* or *Iran-ian*), and in all likelihood it was not a toponym, but a genitive adjective. The country was seemingly called Azzi and its inhabitants, *hay.* When a Hittite king mentioned $^{URU}$*Hayasa* ([land of] Hayasa) without using Azzi, he was actually referring to an ethnic concept.

The difference between the meanings of Azzi (political) and Hayasa (ethnic) is reminiscent of the case of Mitanni during its period of decay. After the dynastic quarrel in the Mitannian kingdom around 1370 B.C., the sources simultaneously mention both Mitanni and Hurri, and it was believed for a long time that they pointed to the division of the kingdom into two separate states. Actually, both terms were synonyms: Mitanni translated a political situation and Hurri, an ethno-linguistic reality. Indeed, there is no evidence that the Hittites referred to Hayasa as encompassing the whole Armenian Highland. Rather, they apparently applied the name to one particular polity in its western area on the basis of the dominant ethno-linguistic unit, the *hay.*

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[8] Diakonoff, *Pre-History*, p. 114.

[9] Gevorg Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun: Nakhagrayin shrjan* [History of the Armenian Language: Pre-Literate Period] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1987), p. 331.

What does *hay* mean? After more than a century of speculations, the most plausible explanation of the ethnonym seems to be an old social interpretation of Indo-European names. Around the end of the nineteenth century, Friedrich Spiegel and Heinrich Kiepert had derived *hay* from I.E. **pótis* (husband, lord, also chief); *hay* would have become a self-designation that immigrant Armenians adopted to differentiate themselves from autocthonous tribes.[10] In the same way, Sanskrit *aryá* became both an Indo-Iranian self-denomination with the double meaning of "lord" and "Aryan," and the basis of the toponym *Iran* (< Avestic *airyo,* genitive plural *aryanam*).

Armen Petrosyan turned his attention to this etymology in 1983-86 and then refined it in 1990 (**potiio* > **(h)eti(y)o* > **(h)ati(y)o* > *hay*). The reconstructed term **(h)eti(y)o* might have been transcribed as *Etiuni* (**etio-ni*), the name of a powerful confederation in the Ararat plain, frequently mentioned in Urartian inscriptions.[11] With its pros and cons, this hypothesis is much sounder than another old theory ingeniously revamped some decades ago. At the end of the nineteenth century, shortly before the discovery of the Hittite archives in 1907, German linguist Peter Jensen suggested identifying the still non-deciphered Hittite language with Armenian and regarded the mysterious Hittites as ancestors of the historical Armenians. He formulated a

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[10] Cf. Hayk Zhamkochyan, Stepan Melik-Bakhshyan and Ashot G. Abrahamyan, *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian People], vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian State Educational-Pedagogical Press, 1963), p. 107.

[11] Armen Petrosyan, "Otrazhenie indoevropeiskogo kornia *uel- v armianskoi mifologii" [The Reflection of the Indo-European Root *uel- in Armenian Mythology], *Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri* 1 (1987): 70; idem, "Armianskie etnonimii v svete mifologicheskikh dannykh" [Armenian Ethnonyms under the Light of Mythological Data], in *Mezhdistsiplinarnye issledovaniia kul'turogeneza i etnogeneza armianskogo nagor'ia i sopredel'nykh oblastei* [Interdisciplinary Studies About Culture and Ethnogenesis in the Armenian Highland and Adjacent Regions] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1990), pp. 240-41. For a recent reassessment in English, see Armen Petrosyan, "The Problem of Identification of the Proto-Armenians: A Critical Review," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 16 (2007): 32-33. Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* pp. 284-85, had also suggested **potiio* > *hay*, but with doubts (I.E. **o* is the source of Armenian *a* when there is no **o* in the following syllables). However, after 1987 he always discussed **pótis* > *hay* as the most plausible explanation. See Gevorg Jahukyan, "O sootnoshenii khayasskogo i armianskogo iazykov" [The Correlation between Hayasan and Armenian Languages], *Patma-banasirakan handes* 1 (1988): 68; Gevork Djahukian, "Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior before the Twelfth Century B.C.?" in Thomas L. Markey and John A.C. Greppin, eds., *When Worlds Collide. Indo-Europeans and Pre-Indo-Europeans* (Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1990), pp. 26ff.

hypothetical passage *hate* > *hay* on the well-known model of I.E. **pater* > Armenian *hayr* (father). Diakonoff rephrased this long-outdated etymology with a different argument. He argued that long after the demise of the Hittite Empire, in Urartian times, the area to the west of the Euphrates River was known as *Hate* and its inhabitants as "Hittite" (*hattini*). Therefore, the whole population on both banks of the Upper Euphrates, without ethnic distinction, would have been labeled as Hittites, including the Armenians. When the Urartians were assimilated by the Armenians after the sixth century B.C., they would have adopted that name (in Old Armenian, **hatiyos*), which became **hayo*, root of *hay* (genitive plural *hayots*) through the above-mentioned *te* > *y* (*pater* > *hayr*) rule.[12]

Western scholars subsequently adopted Diakonoff's highly speculative view as the most plausible explanation to this issue with no further questioning.[13] However, Tamaz Gamkrelidze and Viacheslav Ivanov have rightfully observed in regard to Diakonoff's opionion that "the claim would be more plausible if evidence from other borrowings had been given showing the application of the Armenian sound law in historical times."[14] Phonological studies seem to prove otherwise. Jahukyan has shown that between the twelfth and fourth centuries B.C. the proto-Armenian predecessor of *hayr* already sounded **háyir* and the passage *t* > *y* was no longer functional.[15] Therefore, the whole *Hate* > *hay* argument in its new "packaging" comes to naught.

The absence of Hayasa or any similar name after the fall of the Hittite Empire points to the idea that it was really a genitive adjective and not the name of the country. The Hittite inscriptions put further the determinative $^{URU}$ (country), which could come from the existence of *Til-Hayasa* as the core of the confederation of Azzi (compare, for example, Assur, the original center of Assyria). The case of the official

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[12] Diakonoff, *Pre-History*, pp. 126-27.

[13] Cf. James Russell, "The Formation of the Armenian Nation," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 22.

[14] Tamaz Gamkrelidze and Viacheslav Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), p. 808.

[15] Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun*, p. 354. It was already a known fact that the passage *t*>*y* had ceased in Urartian times; around the sixth century B.C. Armenian had started to borrow from Iranian without changing the *t*. Cf. Iranian *patikara* > Armenian *patker*, "image" in Hrachia Acharyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian Language], vol. 1 (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1940), p. 107.

names of the former Soviet republics is quite illustrative as a parallelism: "Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic," "Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic," "Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic," and not "Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of Russia", "of Georgia", "of Armenia," and so on. In Soviet times, these names had an ethnic and not politico-geographic connotation.

## *The Location of Azzi-Hayasa*

Azzi-Hayasa has been placed both inside and outside the Armenian Highland. How have these two opposing views fared so far? The fragmentary nature of the Hittite annals, which are the basic source of knowledge about Azzi-Hayasa, have paved the way for the existing disagreement. For instance, the Hittite king Mursilis II mentioned three place-names—Ingalawa, Aripsa, and Dukkamma—in the campaign, in the tenth year of his reign, against Azzi-Hayasa. The three names are highly controversial, because the text of the annals of Mursilis II is damaged between the reference to Ingalawa and Aripsa.

Following Adontz, Diakonoff rightfully questioned the traditional identification of Ingalawa with Ingila or Angl (Anggh), on the Eastern Tigris near Diarbekir, but he did not offer an alternative.[16] However, an identification of Ingalawa with the district of Nigal would be likely if it is accepted that Mursilis II first invaded and subdued the Kaskas near the Black Sea before campaigning to the south against Azzi-Hayasa. This district is situated on the lower course of the Chorokh (by metathesis, *Nigal* > *Ingal/awa*) and its name might have an Armenian etymology.[17]

Aripsa is actually the key subject of the controversy, because the annals say: "I marched towards the city of Aripsa to hold battle. But

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[16] Adontz, *Histoire*, pp. 38-39; Diakonoff, *Pre-History*, p. 150.

[17] Valeri Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk v sostave Urartu" [The Land of Hayk as Part of Urartu], *Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri*, 6 (1980): 110; cf. idem, *Hayastane m.t.a. XV-VII darerum (hayots hin patmutyun*] [Armenia in the 15th-7th Centuries B.C.E. (Ancient Armenian History)] (Erevan: Zangak-97, 1998), p. 35. He connects *Nigal* with Armenian *nig* (bolt, lock < i.e. **k'neigh*, to hold on; to close) and *al* (deep place, origin unknown); cf. Hrachia Acharyan, *Hayeren armatakan bararan* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], vol. 1 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1971), p. 96.

the said Aripsa is surrounded by water."[18] What is the meaning of "surrounded by water"? By adopting the previous hypothesis of a location on the Black Sea, Diakonoff noticed the parallel of the suffix *psa* of *Aripsa* with the *pse* of some coastal cities in the Caucasus like Tuapse.[19] However, he failed to give a convincing explanation about the fact that the inscription speaks about a city "surrounded" by water and he gave no sound proof to locate Aripsa with greater precision. In fact, it is quite implausible that, after invading the country from the Black Sea area, the Hittite king would have turned back to occupy the coastal zone. He probably would have secured his rearguard first before advancing farther into enemy lines.

What about a place with fortifications surrounded by a river? Valeri Khachatryan has suggested the fortress of Arab-kale (Arabic *kaleh* = castle, fortress), whose name has a phonetic resemblance with Aripsa. Its ruins are located to the northeast of Sper, on one of the branches of the Chorokh River.[20] In a recent work on the Hittite annals and the toponymy of the Armenian Highland, Aram Kosyan also gives almost equal attention to the previous hypotheses by Grigor Ghapantsyan (on the shore of a swamp-lake close to Erzerum, where Byzantine sources mentioned the town of Arabesson) and by Khachatryan (near Lake Tortum).[21]

According to Diakonoff, the third place under scrutiny, Dukkama, would have been located in the valley of the Gayl River (Lycus, Kelkit), or in the pass between the valleys of the Gayl and Kharshit.[22] Bearing in mind that the name comes from Hittite *dukk* (to be visible),[23] is it possible to see it as a Hittite translation of an Armenian name? Or perhaps it was translated later from Hittite into Armenian. Khachatryan points to the late medieval place-name *Hay* (Armenian *hay-el* = to look, hence, *hayeli* = mirror) in the province of *Azord,* which was also the name of one of the tributaries of the Chorokh on its

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[18] Quoted in Ashot G. Abrahamyan and Petros Hovhannisyan, *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyan krestomatiya* [Chrestomathy of the History of the Armenian People], vol. 1 (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1981), pp. 10-11.

[19] Diakonoff, *Pre-History,* pp. 149, 151. Cf. *pse* (water) in two Caucasian languages, Kabardinian and Adyge. See Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* p. 336.

[20] Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p. 35.

[21] Aram Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere (est khetakan sepagir aghbyurneri)* [The Toponyms of the Armenian Highland (According to the Hittite Cuneiform Sources)] (Erevan: Zangak-97, 2004), p. 39.

[22] Diakonoff, *Pre-History,* p. 149.

[23] Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* p. 335.

left margin (modern Tortum River).[24] Despite this, Kosyan notes that, taking into consideration recent research, "the location of the city to the north or northeast of Erzinka appears more likely."[25]

The above-mentioned name *Azord* also points toward the location of Azzi-Hayasa being around Erzinka, in Upper Armenia, for several reasons:

a) Hittite sources called the Iris River (modern Yeshil Irmak) *Az(z)i*;[26]

b) Megalithic monuments of Upper Armenia (Bardzr Hayk) were called *Aznaberd*;[27]

c) Georgian sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries mention the village of Tordan in Upper Armenia under the name of *Andzoreti* or *Andziandzora*.[28]

d) Seventeenth-century author Hakob Karnetsi identified Ghuruchan, the "deep and wooded land called *Azntsik*," as one of the three districts of Kamakh in Upper Armenia.[29]

Jahukyan had derived *Azzi* from the Armenian *azn*, genitive *azin* (tribe, people, relatives, from I.E. **ag'h-iio*),[30] although he later ascribed an Iranian origin (nobleman, member of the nobility) to that word.[31] It is possible to suggest the elimination of the final *-n* of *azn* in Hittite by a phonetic process called dissimilation (**Aznzi* > *Az[n]zi* > *Azzi*), and in this case the toponym *Azntsik* (land of those from *azn*) would be the "lost link" in the chain. Its association with *hay* might presume that the relation Azzi/*azn* would also reflect some feature of social organization.

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[24] Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 110 (cf. Khachatryan, *Hayastane*, p. 35).

[25] Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere*, p. 99.

[26] Jahukyan, "O sootnoshenii khayasskogo i armianskogo iazykov," p. 69.

[27] Eremyan and Diakonoff, "Hayasa-Azzi," p. 194.

[28] Ibid, p. 193.

[29] Quoted by Lavrenti Barseghyan, "Hayasa-Azzii u nra mi kani bnakavayreri teghadrman hartsi shurje" [On the Question of Locating Hayasa-Azzi and Some of Its Places of Habitation], *Patma-banasirakan handes* 3 (1963): 312.

[30] Guevorg Djahukyan, "The Hayasa Language and Its Relation to the Indo-European Languages," *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1961): 364-67. Cf. Eremyan and Diakonoff, "Hayasa-Azzi," p. 194.

[31] Jahukyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun*, p. 512. Cf. John Greppin, "An Etymological Dictionary of the Indo-European Components of Armenian," *Bazmavep*, 1-4 (1983): 262. Following Khachatryan, Jahukyan later explained Azzi through the Armenian root *az* (dry), *azazim* (to become dry) < I.E. **az-gh* (dry). See Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 110 (cf. Khachatryan, *Hayastane*, p. 35); Djahukian, "Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior," p. 20.

A few other places of Azzi-Hayasa can be located with considerable accuracy: Arziya (Artzn, near Erzerum),[32] Kumaha (Kamakh or Kemakh, on the sources of the Euphrates),[33] and Pittiyariga (Btarich, near Altintepe).[34] The name Arziya seems to have an Armenian origin (*artz* = shining, *artzat* = silver < I.E. **arg* ' = shining).[35] Kamakh, on the other hand, was the royal pantheon in Arsacid times, and it perhaps performed a similar function in Azzi-Hayasa; the name *Kumaha* could reflect this (Armenian *kmakhk* = skeleton).[36] Suggested Armenian etymologies for Pittiyariga are much more shaky,[37] while the origin of *arich* (place) is unknown.[38] There is also Arniya, center of the cult of the storm-god of Azzi-Hayasa (cited in Hittite texts as $^{d}U$, which is the ideographic way to show a name). Although there are too many homophonous names in the Armenian Highland to come to an agreement,[39] this town might be identified with Ani, in Upper Armenia (not to be confused with the medieval capital Ani in the Plain of Ararat), where Aramazd, the Armenian equivalent of Zeus, was worshipped in Arsacid times.[40] It has also been identified with Arnos, in the district of Sper.[41]

Some other names are also found far from the Black Sea, such as Ura, the main fortress of Azzi-Hayasa, which might be located near the

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[32] Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 111 (cf. Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p. 42); Djahukian, "Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior," p. 26. Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere,* p. 43, only agrees that it was close to the Euphrates or on the upper Halys.

[33] Adontz, *Histoire,* p. 28.

[34] Grigor Ghapantsyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian Language], vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1961), p. 67; Eremyan and Diakonoff, "Hayasa-Azzi," p. 191.

[35] Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 111 (cf. Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p.42); Djahukian, "Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior," p. 26.

[36] From Akkadian *gimmahu, kimmahu* (tomb). See Hrachia Acharyan, *Hayeren armatakan bararan,* vol. 2 (1973), p. 605.

[37] Cf. Jahukyan, "O sootnoshenii khayasskogo i armianskogo iazykov," p. 79; Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 111; Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p. 43.

[38] Ghapantsyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* p. 67; Gevorg Jahukyan, "Hayasayi lezvi hinanatoliakan varkatse" [The Paleo-Anatolian Hypothesis of the Language of Hayasa], *Patma-banasirakan handes* 1 (1976): 105.

[39] Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere*, p. 41.

[40] Cf. Armen Petrosyan, *Aramazd: kerpar, pashtamunk, nakhatiper* [Aramazd: Figure, Cult, Prototypes] (Erevan: Van Aryan, 2006), pp. 71-72, who makes an interesting attempt at etymology.

[41] Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p. 44, relates Arniya to Armenian *arn* (male wild goat). It has also been located in Arane (modern Alaca-khan), mentioned by classical sources. See Eremyan and Diakonoff, "Hayasa-Azzi," p. 192.

Gayl River[42] or correspond to Uren, to the west of Baberd (Baiburt).[43] Arhita, situated on the borderline of Azzi-Hayasa and Hatti, has been identified with Erez in the district of Khordzeank, or Eriza in the district of Hashdeank, on the Upper Euphrates.[44] Kosyan also supports a site on the Upper Euphrates in the vicinity of Kummaha and Pahhuwa, a land on river's right bank, without attempting a more specific identification.[45] The first component of the name Pahhuteia (linked to the above-mentioned Pahhuwa) and the second component of Lahirhila seem to have Hittite origin,[46] but their location in Azzi-Hayasa is not known. Some other names cannot even be located or explained in a plausible way.

One can infer from these place-names that Azzi-Hayasa was not situated in the Black Sea area, but in the Armenian Highland. Its core was around the upper courses of the Western Euphrates, Gayl, and Chorokh rivers, immediately to the south of the Pontus area. Its inhabitants, called *hay,* might have been Armenian-speakers, at least in part, as suggested by the etymologies of some of these place-names and also of a few kings[47] and gods.[48]

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[42] Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere,* p. 101. Djahukyan, "The Hayasa Language," p. 397, has suggested a Hittite etymology (*ura* = big).

[43] Khachatryan, "Strana Khayk," p. 110; cf. Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* pp. 43-44, who explains the name through Armenian *ur* (sprout).

[44] Valeri Khachatryan, "Hayasa," *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia], vol. 6 (Erevan: Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia, 1980), p. 134; Khachatryan, *Hayastane,* p. 43, who presumes a translation from Armenian *erez* (border), since Arhita is clearly related to Hittite, Luwian, and Hieroglyphic Luwian *arha* (outside); Hieroglyphic Luwian, *arha* (border). See Ghapantsyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* pp. 66-67.

[45] Kosyan, *Haykakan lernashkharhi teghanunnere,* p. 37.

[46] Jahukyan,"O sootnoshenii khayasskogo i armianskogo iazykov," pp. 76-77; Ghapantsyan, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun,* p. 66. An Armenian origin for both second components has been also suggested by Jahukyan, pp. 76-77; idem, "Did Armenians Live in Asia Anterior," p. 26.

[47] For instance, *Mariya,* from Armenian **mari* (young man < i.e. **m$^{b}$riya*), among others. See Vartan Matiossian, "Hayasa erkri aradjnord Mariyan ev ir arnchutiunnere" [Mariya, Leader of the Land of Hayasa, and His Connections], *Bazmavep* 1-4 (1992): 322-24.

[48] It is not far-fetched to suggest that the god-name *Baltaik* might have an Armenian origin with the meaning of "bright," as in sister Indo-European languages, despite the fact that this meaning has been lost in Armenian (cf. I.E. **bhl-to* "resplendent" > Armenian *bal* (fog, mist); Acharyan, *Hayeren armatakan bararan,* vol. 1, p. 383). In fact, the suffix *ik* has Armenian origin (cf. the Armenian goddess *Astghik,* equivalent to the Akkadian Ishtar and the Roman Venus).